

Proposal
for the Establishment of
A National Council on International Research and Manpower

On March 11, 1982 representatives of twelve federal agencies with international responsibilities met for a full day with a group of eleven specialists in international relations from as many major American universities to explore ways in which the international resources and skills of American universities could be more effectively and systematically related to the research and manpower needs of the federal government in a manner equally beneficial to the longterm interests of both parties. The federal agencies involved were the White House, the Departments of State, Commerce, and Education, the International Communications Agency, the Agency for International Development, the National Security Council, the Air Force, the Intelligence Community, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, and the Defense Intelligence Agency. The eleven universities were Brandeis, California (Berkeley), Columbia, Georgetown, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Stanford, Wisconsin, and Yale. Participating also were representatives of the Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence, the Association of American Universities, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the National Council for Foreign Language and International Studies, the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

There was unanimous agreement among this group that there is sufficient commonality of interests and needs in the international area to merit the creation of a means to insure regular and systematic exploration of shared problems and to initiate solutions therefor. The group also concluded that this process might best begin with the subjects of campus-based research on international policy issues of importance both to the federal government and to the advancement of scholarship, and with the closely associated matter of producing and training new cohorts of specialists capable of conducting high-quality research, i.e. the manpower problem.

The following factors argue in favor of this approach. Where the government is concerned:

- There has seldom been a time when the country has faced as many or more serious international problems and challenges. In coming decades these are likely to increase in number and complexity. This is true in the

private as well as the public sector, and in the civil as well as the military spheres of government.

- The conduct of our foreign relations--and, by logical extension, the insurance of an adequate national stock of competencies and skill to enable us to conduct these relations effectively--is a central constitutional power and responsibility of the Federal Government. It is not, however, an exclusive concern. The Administration, through its "New Federalism" policy, has been calling for increased cooperation with state and local governments and with the private sector. The proposed program would be a useful and positive step in that direction.
- The universities of the United States possess collectively by far the greatest aggregation of international resources and skills in the country, but this enormous national resource is now being utilized in only minor and fragmentary fashion.
- Since the late 1960s there has been a continuous and severe decline in funding for advanced research and training in international affairs, and a parallel decline in the numbers and perhaps the quality of new professionals entering the field. This has already affected replacements and, if allowed to continue, will seriously damage our national stock of international resources and skills.
- The budget priorities of the 1970s put severe constraints on any increases in foreign affairs manpower in federal agencies, even as international challenges grew in scale and complexity. This program would assist the government in meeting these challenges.
- Even at times of fuller funding, the international research agencies of the federal government have often had to slight long-term research and analysis in favor of keeping abreast of seemingly more urgent short-term research needs and demands. The proposed program would help remedy this deficiency.

Where the universities are concerned:

- The importance of international and comparative factors to teaching and research in all fields of the social sciences and humanities has increased steadily and enormously since World War II.
- While never a really major part of their teaching or research agenda, American universities did succeed in the 1960s and early '70s in building from scratch a

number of excellent international teaching and research programs.

- This progress was made possible and sustained in critical part by external funding.
- With few and minor exceptions, this external funding is now no longer available. Most universities are experiencing serious difficulties in providing adequate support for international studies as well as other needs, and the programs themselves are gradually beginning to decline in quality, in popularity, and in teaching and research capacities.
- It is in the interest of both the universities and the federal government that this decline be halted and reversed before it becomes more serious. Federal funding could assist in the ~~presentation~~ *preservation* of these programs.
- It is the purpose of this program to obtain such funding without damage to other federally funded, university-based, international programs and to do so on terms just as beneficial to the interests of American scholarship as to those of the federal government.

Where the private sector is concerned:

- The relations between the universities and that part of the private sector which conducts the nation's foreign business relations have been even more minor and fragmentary than in the case of the Federal Government. As the share of GNP attributed to exports steadily rises and foreign competition on our domestic market steadily increases, the national need for added knowledge of export markets and foreign competitors and the economic, financial, political and social factors that affect them at home grows correspondingly. Once more, we believe that these circumstances create the possibility of cooperation between the universities and the private sector on mutually beneficial terms. We propose to explore this possibility with leaders of the business community.

Against this background, the March 11 Conference agreed to constitute a small task force--co-chaired on the federal side by Dr. Richard S. Beal, Special Assistant to the President, and on the academic side by Dr. Robert E. Ward of Stanford University--and charged it with developing a plan for the improvement of cooperation between the international agencies of the federal government and the universities in the fields of long-term research and training on international issues of mutual

interest and reporting the results to the entire group for its consideration and action. It was hoped that subsequent discussions could involve the international private sector as well.

I THE ACADEMIC DIMENSION:

The Task Force recommends the following plan for the establishment of a National Council on International Research and manpower (NCIRM):

The National Council on International and Manpower Research is a federally and privately funded, non-profit, autonomous, academic corporation situated in and established under the laws of the District of Columbia. Its purposes are: 1) To develop and maintain continuously a program of advanced research on foreign and international matters of a political, economic, social, cultural, or historical nature that relate to the basic and longterm interests of American scholarship and the United States; 2) To encourage and assist through its research programs the training of younger scholars and graduate students and thus contribute to the maintenance of an adequate national supply of international skills in the future; and 3) To provide a means for initiating periodic discussions and suggesting joint actions with respect to areas of shared interest and concern in the international sphere among the Federal Government, the private sector, and the universities.

The National Council on International and Manpower Research is a tripartite body composed of a Council of Presidents, a Board of Trustees, and an Advisory Group.

The Council of Presidents:

Basic authority and responsibility inhere collectively in the Council of Presidents. This body consists of the presidents (in a few cases chancellors or provosts) of the following seventeen major research universities: California (Berkeley and Los Angeles), Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin, and Yale. This Council will appoint a small Executive Committee from among their own numbers and maintain a presence in Washington, D. C. The Executive Committee, with the approval of the Council, will appoint a Board of Trustees that will, on the Council's behalf, perform the operating functions described below.

The Board of Trustees:

The Board of Trustees will be composed of distinguished scholars with extensive professional experience in the fields of area or international studies. The Executive Committee of the Council of Presidents will select the members of the Board of

Trustees with a view to maintaining at all times representation on the Board of scholars specializing in each of the eight major world areas (Western Europe, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, East Asia, the Middle East, South Asia, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa) and a similar number of major international issues or problems that transcend specific world areas. Trustees will serve three-year terms, so staggered that about one-third of the terms expire each year. No Trustee may serve more than two consecutive terms in office. All Trustees shall serve as individual scholars and not as representatives of their home institutions. The Trustees shall establish programs and National Council policies; conduct the National Council's relations with the Federal Government, the private sector, and other external agencies; solicit, review, and select proposals for funding; appoint an Executive Director and the corporation's officers; establish and supervise the administration of the National Council's business; and in general determine, and be responsible to the Council of Presidents for the proper and efficient conduct of the National Council's affairs and the safeguarding of academic interests and values.

The Advisory Group:

The Advisory Group will consist of representatives from the following professional organizations selected by whatever procedure may be determined by the organizationn concerned: the Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, American Historical Association, American Sociological Association, American Anthropological Association, American Society of International Law,, International Studies Association, Council for European Studies. American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Association for Asian Studies, Latin American Studies Association, African Studies Association, and Middle East Studies Association. The Board of Trustees solicits and will welcome the advice of any of these member organizations with respect to the relationships between the National Council's Programs and the professional interests of the discipline or field represented by that organization. Advisory Members of this group will also receive an annual report from the Board of Trustees setting forth a detailed description of the National Council's current programs and policies and a list of all projects funded. Any member of the Advisory Group may invite the Board of Trustees to send its representative to meet at mutual convenience with the Board of Directors of a member organization for discussion of the Council and its work.

II. THE FEDERAL DIMENSION:

It is proposed that the federal interest in this joint federal-academic venture be represented by a Federal Council on International Research and Manpower (FCIRM) composed of high-level representatives of: 1) all Executive Branch agencies with mandates relating in substantial part of international and

foreign affairs, and 2) the foreign affairs committees of Congress. This Council should be established by executive order and appropriate congressional action and should be chaired and staffed by the National Security Council. Its purposes would be: 1) To explore from the federal standpoint the sorts of advanced academic research on foreign and international matters of a political, economic, social, cultural, or historical nature that might relate to the basic and longterm interests of the United States; 2) To explore the present and prospective needs of the federal government and the nation for an adequate supply of trained manpower with the linguistic and substantive skills essential to the effective conduct of our international relations; 3) To serve as the federal counterpart to the university-based National Council on International Research and Manpower, and negotiate with that National Council's Board of Trustees the terms upon which its, i.e. the National Council's, programs of advanced research and training will be supported by the Federal Government; 4) To provide through its members for the financing of whatever research and training programs may be jointly agreed upon by the Federal Council and the National Council; and 5) To provide a means for initiating periodic discussions and suggesting joint actions with respect to these and other areas of shared interest and concern in the international sphere among the Federal Government, the private sector, and the universities.

III. MODES OF OPERATION:

The Task Force recommends two principal modes of operation where the programs and interactions of the Federal Council and the National Council are concerned: 1) a research and training mode, and 2) a manpower and consultative mode.

1. Research and Training Mode: These are envisaged as substantially overlapping functions, the training component of which will be related to and supportive of some present or prospective research objective. In this mode the National and Federal Councils will operate in the following manner.

Once a year the National Council's Board of Trustees will meet with the Federal Council or its representatives to: 1) consult and agree upon international or foreign area research fields or broad topics of a political, economic, social, cultural, or historical nature that relate to the basic and longterm interests of American scholarship and of the United States; and 2) review the record of the past year's performance from the standpoint of the interests of both Councils. The fields and broad topics agreed upon at this annual meeting must possess the following characteristics: 1) be longterm in nature and not time-bound in the sense of trying to provide tactical answers to immediate or imminent policy problems; 2) be as much concerned with why and in what patterns developments

occur as with descriptions of what happened; and 3) be policy relevant in the sense of providing a context of knowledge, insights, and perspectives of which policy makers would be aware when making policy decisions. When agreement has been reached on these broad fields and topics, the Board of Trustees will incorporate the results in a national research agenda which will define the subject matters eligible for funding on a competitive basis during the ensuing year. The Trustees will operate on the basis of and within the limits of a budget supplied by the member agencies of the Federal Council or other federal sources that may in the future become available. This research agenda will be widely publicized in academic circles and relevant research proposals will be solicited from qualified university-based scholars or groups of scholars. Proposals that are responsive to the research agenda will then be evaluated on a competitive basis by reviewers selected for their professional knowledge of the fields concerned. The recommendations of the reviewers will then be passed on to the Board of Trustees which will make the final decision with respect to which projects are to be funded. Awards will be made solely on the basis of scholarly quality and promise and their relevance to the research agenda.

The National Council will welcome reasoned suggestions from scholars as to subjects that in their estimation should be considered for inclusion on the research agenda.

Awards will be made on a contractual basis between the National Council and the college or university by which the awardee(s) is employed or otherwise formally associated. The National Council will administer separately its federal funds and any private sector funding that it may in the future receive. All relevant federal laws and regulations--including the affirmative action program--governing the expenditure of federal funds will be observed.

Awardees will be expected to provide the National Council with five copies of a report setting forth in detail and in proper academic format the results and findings of their research. This should include a short executive summary highlighting the policy implications of the report. Great importance will be attached by the Council to the completion of the research and delivery of the report by the date initially agreed upon between the researcher and the National Council. The Council will make the research report and/or executive summary available to interested federal agencies. The Government will have the right to circulate these documents within governmental circles, to draw upon them for internal analyses, and to publish them for non-commercial use in the form in which they are delivered to the National Council. The awardee will have the right to apply for and obtain copyright on his or her work funded by the Council and to publish the results in normal academic fashion.

2. Manpower and Consultative Mode: A second function of the

National and Federal Councils is the provision of a systematic means of consultation about shared interests and problems among the international sectors of government, business, and the academic community. In this context no matter is of greater concern than the manpower problem. It has many dimensions ranging from the dangerously low level of understanding in many quarters of the actual national need for more and better international skills to the complexities of determining what sorts and how many particular skills are needed and for what purposes. In the past such questions have been posed only in the most episodic and partial terms and solutions left largely to the marketplace. The country can no longer afford so casual an approach. We need some more systematic and efficient means of considering in broad terms at least the types of international skills that are apt to be required by both the public and private sectors in years to come and the capacity of the universities to produce them.

The National and Federal Councils in consultation--hopefully with the addition of private sector representation--would be a suitable means of initiating and conducting discussions on such manpower issues or other matters of mutual interest. The National Council, operating through its Council of Presidents or its Board of Trustees, could readily arrange for whatever sorts or levels of academic representation the particular subject matter required.

3. Finances: The operation of the National Council on International Research and Manpower will be financed in the first instance by contributions from the executive agencies that are members of the Federal Council on International Research and Manpower. It is recognized that their current capacity to make such contributions will vary substantially from agency to agency. The principle of widespread involvement by both civilian and military agencies is, however, of fundamental importance to the success of this venture. It is strongly urged, therefore, that, for the four or five years involved in this initial period, all agencies with substantial mandates in the field of international affairs will find it possible to make contributions and participate actively in the Federal Council. At the end of this ~~two or three~~ ^{four or five} year period, if the assessment of the work of the National Council is positive on both the federal and academic sides, we hope to approach the Congress for either an annual appropriation or an endowment.

During the initial period the contributions of the several agencies would be merged in a single pool and used to support research projects, consultations on manpower or other issues of the sort described above and the related administrative and operational costs of the program. There could be no assurance that every international research or consultative interest of every federal member agency would be serviced within a particular fiscal year, or served in direct proportion to the relative size of an agency's financial contribution. There is, however, a rich

diversity of professional interests and skills on U.S. campuses that at least match the diversity of longterm policy interests within the federal government. The annual agenda of broad topics or fields eligible for support under the program would be established by mutual agreement of the federal and academic councils, and this would provide an effective means of targeting particular topics, setting boundaries, and synchronizing federal interests with academic interests and skills. It is highly unlikely in practice that any major longterm policy interest of a federal agency acceptable to both Councils would long lack a long lack qualified response on campus.

IV. PROTECTION OF THE SCHOLARLY AND THE FEDERAL INTERESTS IN THIS PROGRAM:

Two principal interests of this research and training program are: 1) to make available to the federal government and the private sector the best thinking and findings of the academic community with respect to foreign area and international issues that are of basic importance to the longterm interests of the United States and the international community in general, and 2) to contribute to the development of more and better American scholarship in the international field. In so doing it is important that protection be provided for the legitimate interests of both parties. This program ~~encourages~~ *incorporates* the following measures.

On the Academic Side:

1) The interests of the academic community will be represented by a Council of Presidents composed of the chief officers of seventeen major research universities and a Board of Trustees of distinguished scholars representing eight major world areas and a similar number of major international issue areas.

2) The subject matters constituting the research agenda of fields and topics eligible to receive support will be jointly determined by the National Council and its counterpart Federal Council. No subject can be included on this agenda without the consent of the academic representatives on the National Council. The National Council is interested in the promotion of good scholarship and good training in the foreign affairs field. The types of research it will authorize are of a basic and longterm nature and are, in any instance, the sorts of subjects that are of natural interest and concern to scholars working in international fields. Examples would be: longterm national goals and needs and national capacities to attain these in the foreign and domestic and public and private spheres; political and economic leadership and organization; religious, social, and cultural movements of international consequence; regional and global international relationships and their domestic antecedents; factors affecting the stability, legitimacy, and efficiency of political regimes; issues of national and international security; civil-military relations; social and

economic stratification and differentiation; arms control and limitation; international trade and monetary issues; East-West and North-South problems and relationships; international aid and technical assistance, etc. It is our fundamental belief that it will be advantageous to longterm national and international interests if the Government of the United States, in formulating its foreign policies, has systematic access to the best possible academic thinking and research on such issues. It should be equally advantageous to scholars to have their views and findings consulted in this manner.

3) The research agenda will be widely publicized and the resultant competition open to all qualified scholars on a national basis. Participation is, of course, completely voluntary.

4) The decisions as to which projects are to be funded will be made by professional scholars on professional grounds.

5) The Council will not fund classified research.

6) The products of funded research will be publishable in normal academic fashion.

7) The identities of all sponsoring agencies on the federal side will be a matter of public record.

8) The Advisory Group will provide a means for concerned professional organizations to query or criticize the program's policies or programs on a continuing basis.

On the Federal Side:

1) The interests of the federal community will be represented by high-level representatives of the agencies comprising the Federal Council plus Congressional representatives.

2) The subject matter of the research agenda will be jointly determined by consultation between the Federal Council and the National Council. No subject can be included without the approval of the Federal Council.

3) The program depends ultimately on federal financing.

4) Specific provision is made for at least one annual meeting between the National and Federal Councils or their representatives at which an important part of the agenda will consist of a review of the previous year's record. This will provide an opportunity for any corrective measures deemed necessary.

5) Particular research projects will be funded on the basis

of contracts between the National Council and the researcher's university. It is in the National Council's interest to see that the terms are strictly observed.

6) In the course of any funded research project an effort can be made to bring the researcher into association with interested federal representatives for an exchange of views relating to the subject concerned.

While we consider these protections to be prudent and desirable for both parties, we do not consider the relationship to be adversarial. Our basic purpose is to bring about a more cordial and cooperative relationship.

V. THE PRIVATE SECTOR:

While the present document has been largely confined to a description of the relationship between the academic and the federal communities that the Task Force is recommending, we should note that it is our hope to expand these relations to include the private sector as well. The problems involved are even more complex however, and it has seemed advisable to us to restrict our present activities to the universities and the federal government. We hope later to initiate discussions with the private sector.

12/3/82

REW